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AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
EVIDENCE

OF
Archbishop *CRANMER*'s
RECAN TATION:

OR
REASONS
FOR A
SUSPICION

That the pretended Copy of it is not
genuine.

By WILLIAM WHISTON, *M. A.*

L O N D O N :

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AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

EVIDENCE

ADMINISTRATIVE

REGISTRATION

OF

REAL ESTATE

IN THE

STATE OF NEW YORK

AND

THE CITY OF NEW YORK

IN THE

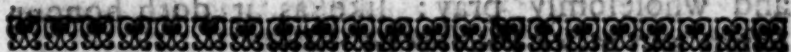
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AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
EVIDENCE

OF
Archbishop CRANMER'S
RECANTATION: &c.



BEFORE I give my Reasons for this
Suspicion, I shall set down the Copy
of this Recantation *Verbatim*, from *Mes
Foxes Acts and Monuments*, pag. 666
London, 1641. Fol.

The Copie and Words of CRANMER'S Recantation.

" I Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Can-
terbury, do renounce, abhor and detest all

“ manner of Heresies and Errors of *Luther* and
 “ *Zuinglius*; and all other Teachings which be
 “ contrary to sound and true Doctrines. And I
 “ believe most constantly in my Heart, and with
 “ my Mouth I confess *One Holy and Catholick*
 “ *Church, Visible*, without which there is no Sal-
 “ vation;” and therefore [thereof] I acknowledge
 the Bishop of *Rome* to be Supreme Head in
 Earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest
 Bishop and *Pope*, and *Christ's Vicar*, unto whom
 all Christian People ought to be subject.

And as concerning the Sacraments, I believe
 and worship in the Sacrament of the *Altar* the
 very Body and Blood of *Christ*, being contain'd
 most truly under the forms of Bread and Wine;
 the Bread, through the mighty Power of God,
 being turned into the Body of our Saviour *Jesus*
Christ, and the Wine into his Blood.

And in the other six Sacraments also (like as in
 this) I believe and hold as the Universal Church
 holdeth, and the Church of *Rome* judgeth and
 determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place
 of Purgatory, where Souls departed be punished
 for a Time: for whom the Church doth godly
 and wholesomely pray: like as it doth honour
 Saints and make Prayers to them.

Finally, in all Things I profess that I do not
 otherwise believe than the *Catholick Church*, and
 the Church of *Rome* holdeth and teacheth. I am
 sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And
 I beseech almighty God, that of his Mercy he
 will vouchsafe to forgive me whatsoever I have of-
 fended against God or his Church. And also I desire
 and beseech all Christian People to pray for me.

And all such as have been deceived either by
 mine Example or Doctrine, I require them, by
 the Blood of *Jesus Christ*, that they will return to
 the

the Unity of the Church, that we may be all of one Mind, without Schism or Division.

And to conclude, as I submit my self to the Catholick Church of Christ, and to the supreme Head thereof, so I submit my self unto the most Excellent Majesties of Philip and Mary, King and Queen of this Realm of England, &c. and to all [other] their Laws and Ordinances, being ready always as a faithful Subject ever to obey them.

And God is my witness that I have not done this for Favour or Fear of any Person; but willingly and of mine own mind; as well to the Discharge of my own Conscience, as to the Instruction of other.

Thus far in Mr. Foxe's Copy: Without the addition of any Date, or Subscription under the Archbishop's hand, or any Witnesses that it was written by him. The foregoing Words indeed are these, "the Form of which Recantation, made by the Friars and Doctors, whereto Cranmer subscribed, was this," whereby it appears that Mr. Fox believed Cranmer did subscribe this intire Form. Yet does he add after the Form it self, what makes it probable he did not believe he subscribed it himself, but that his Name was put to it by some of those Prelates and Doctors who were then present. "This Recantation of the Archbishop, says Mr. Fox, was not so soon conceiv'd; but the Doctors and Prelates, without delay, caused the same to be imprinted, and set abroad in all Mens hands. Whereunto, for better credit, first was added the Name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn Subscription. Then followed the Witnesses of this Recantation, Henrie Sydal, and Frier John de villa Garcina. All this while Cranmer was in no certain Assurance of his Life; altho' the

“ the same was faithfully promised him by the
 “ Doctors. But after that they had their purpose,
 “ the rest they committed to all adventure, as
 “ became Men of that Religion to do. The
 “ Queen having now gotten a Time to revenge
 “ her old Grief, received his Recantation very
 “ gladly; but of her purpose to put him to Death
 “ she would nothing relent:” So far *Mr. Fox.*

A strange Story this! that so solemn a Recantation of Archbishop *Cranmer*, Primate of all *England*, should be published as his own, without any other Witnesses than two such obscure Persons as *Henrie Sydal*, never, that I know of, afterward heard of, and *Frier John de villa Garcina*, one brought from *Spain* to pervert the University of *Oxford* to *Popery*.

Now as to this intire Copy of a Recantation, it seems to me to consist of two very different parts: The first part, here mark'd with Commas, is a very small one; and of such a Nature as *Cranmer* might himself draw up and sign, as literally *True* and *Catholick* in his Opinion: Tho' it must be confess'd it is very capable of a *Popish* Sense also. The second part is about six Times as large; and is such as *Cranmer* could not possibly draw up, nor subscribe, with truth, in any Sense whatsoever. Which two parts are therefore to be accurately distinguished from each other, and considered in quite different views. The former is in *Stile* and *Language* very like that of Archbishop *Cranmer's*; but the other quite different from it. The Contents, which declare not only his readiness to renounce all the Errors of other People, and to endeavour to follow nothing but what was originally true and sound Doctrine, is very agreeable to *Cranmer* also; who left all the modern Notions, and most diligently search'd into the *New-Testament*, and the primitive Writers, for true
 and

and pure Christianity^a. In which search indeed he had been all along truly indefatigable. This Confession of One Holy and Catholick Church is *Cranmer's* own Declaration, in his ^b Appeal from the Pope to a General council at this very Time: And his declaring it to be a *Visible* Church he confessed, was then the *Protestant* notion; as we learn by ^c one of the other *Martyrs* Confessions, and by *Cranmer's* styling the King the Head of the *Visible* Church in his Answer to Dr. *Martin*; and both about the very same Time also. And as to the additional Character of that Church here, that *without*, or out of it there is no Salvation, I take it to have been the common Doctrine of all at that Time, both *Protestants* and *Papists*, without exception.

And so far, I suppose, *Cranmer* might go at this Time: Especially since he had hopes of saving his Life by such a Subscription. He might also assure Dr. *Cole*, who was sent to try whether he abode in his declared purpose, that “by God's Grace he would daily be more confirm'd in the Catholick Faith,” of which Catholick Faith he owned himself to be at his Death. He might endeavour to please the Queen so far, because she, it seems, insisted that “she would have *Cranmer* a Catholick, or else no *Cranmer* at all;” i. e. that his declaring himself a Catholick, was absolutely necessary to his Life and Restoration: as the *Frier* informed him. And this I suppose was all that Dr. *Cole* refer'd to, when he put *Cranmer* in mind of some Promise of his, as he was going to the Stake, and which he allow'd, viz. “that he was to express the true and undoubted Profession of his Faith, that he might take away all Sus-

^a *Burnet's Hist. Reformat.* Vol. I. pag. 171. Vol. III. pag. 250.

^b *Fox*, pag. 650. 663. 665.

^c Pag. 684.

^d Pag. 662.

^e Pag. 667. 669.

^f Pag. 666.

^g Pag. 667.

“ picion

“ picion from Men ; and that all Men might understand that he was a Catholick indeed.” All which Passages seem to me to belong to this first part of the present Recantation, and to nothing else.

It is indeed not impossible that he might transcribe some Copies of this intire Recantation, as it was proposed to him by the *Papists*; and those *Papists* might give out, what they so much wished, that he was disposed to give his Consent to the whole ; and might print it and publish it, in the Way of Forgery, as *Cranmer's* own Recantation: Which we shall see great Evidence anon that they really did. And for his Permission of such Copies to go abroad under his Hand, he might sorely repent him afterward : As the Words he spake at that Stake, to be produced hereafter, would incline one to suppose. However, that he never did either draw up, or really sign this whole pretended Recantation before us, as consenting thereto, the following Arguments will render highly probable.

(1) The known Character of *A. B. Cranmer* for Sincerity and Courage, will not permit us easily to believe that ever he made such a Recantation ; much less that he continued in it for about a Month or five Weeks together, as the present Accounts do imply. As to his known Sincerity, take his own Words, as he spake them at his Death, and which the general course and conduct of his Life bear Witness to be true. When his Adversaries reproached him with Recanting at the Stake his former Recantation, and thereby being guilty of *Falseness* and *Disimulation*, he answered, “ Ah, my Masters, Do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto I have

^a Fox, pag. 670.

“ been

" been a Hater of Falsehood, and a Lover of
 " Simplicity; and never before this Time have I
 " dissembled." And as to his Courage and Bold-
 ness in his Confession, he was one of the most
 eminent of all our Reformers. He was ever one
 of the most open and forward Speakers and
 Writers for the *Protestant* Religion against *Papery*
 of all others: As appears through his whole
 History. Particularly, when he first perceived
 himself in eminent Danger under Queen *Mary*,
 and her cruel Ministers; and was by some advis-
 ed to fly beyond Sea; which in other cases he
 did not only approve of, * but strongly recom-
 mend; Bishop *Burnet* informs us that he said,
 " He would not dissuade others from that
 " Course, now that they saw Persecution rising :
 " But considering the Station he was in, and the
 " Hand he had in all the Changes that were
 " made, he thought it so indecent a Thing for
 " him to fly, that no Intreaties should ever per-
 " suade him to it." Bishop *Ridley* also, just be-
 fore himself was burnt, " Expressed his great
 " joy for what he heard of *Cranmer's* godly and
 " fatherly Constancy; whose Integrity and Up-
 " rightness, Gravity and Innocence was known
 " to the whole Nation. And he blessed God
 " that had given, in his reverend old Age, such
 " a Man to be the Witness of his Truth. For
 " miserable and hard-hearted was he, whom the
 " Godliness and constant Confession of so worthy,
 " so grave, and so innocent a Man would not
 " move to acknowledge and confess his Truth;"
 See also *Cranmer's* large and solemn Appeal from
 the *Pope* to a General-council, ^d delivered in open
 Court on *February*, 14. when he was degraded :

^a Fox, pag. 677.

^b Burnet. Vol. II. pag. 248.

^c Ibid, pag. 304.

^d Fox, pag. 663. 664. 665.

Which was but ten Days before the Date of the Writ for his Burning, and fewer Days before the Time of this pretended Recantation.

(2) The Tenor and Stile of the first Clauses of this Recantation, are very different from the Tenor and Stile of the rest : The former Points are such also as might, with strict Truth, be signed by any Protestant or Catholick Christian ; but the latter such as could be signed, with Truth, by none but by a through Papist : Both which differences have been already observed.

(3) This pretended Recantation has no Date to it, as Bishop *Burnet*^a truly observes ; and the Copy in *Fox* assures us. Which yet, in such nice Cases, does not use to be omitted. A form of Recantation proposed was not to be dated : But a *real Subscription* to it ought not certainly to be without such a Date.

(4) The main Parts of this pretended Recantation at least, were drawn up, not by *Cranmer*, but by certain Papists : As is not only clear by their Contents ; but expressly affirmed by Mr. *Fox*, in these Words, already quoted : “ The Form of which Recantation, made by the Friers and Doctors, whereto *Cranmer* subscribed, was this.” Nor is it at all probable that the same Persons drew up the first Clauses of this Recantation who drew up the latter : They are every way so unlike to one another.

(5) *Thomas Cranmer*'s Name in *Fox* is not at the End, as his own Subscription ; but in the Beginning only ; as it would naturally be in a Form proposed to him. Accordingly we shall soon find, that what he agreed to was subscribed by him as his Declaration of his real Sentiments : But that this was no more than the first Branch

^a Pag. 333.

^b *Fox*, pag. 666.

of the present Form. But of these Observations already.

(6) What first moved me to suspect this whole Matter, was the Obscurity, and Fewness, and Temper of the principal or only Actors and Witnesses therein, *Henrie Sydal* and Frier *John de villa Garcina*. These two inconsiderable Persons, or chiefly the Frier (for we never afterward meet with *Henrie Sydal* in this whole process,) were, it seems, able to persuade the Archbishop, and that in a very few Days Time, to such a Recantation, as neither Cardinal *Pole*, nor any of the other Bishops, learned Doctors or Prelates, during his two Years and an half's Imprisonment, could do: And this with such Arguments, ^a set down in the Acts and Monuments, as were fitter to affright an ignorant and timorous Woman, than to convince the very learned and couragious *A. B. Cranmer*. Nor is it easily accountable, how not so much as the Dean of *Christ Church*, with whom he had lately lived; nor any of his Canons; nor any of the Heads of the University of *Oxford* where he was, and was so well known, should appear to have the least Hand in either this Conversion of *Cranmer*, or in his Recantation: No not so much as to be Witnesses to his signing it. All this seems to me to look very suspiciously.

(7) What *Cranmer* really signed, was, ^a not a large and publick Recantation; but certain Bills or Papers containing only a few Words, in a little Leaf of Paper, ^b as Mr. *Fox* himself describes it. Which well agrees to the first small Branch, which I suppose to have been really *Cranmer's*; but not so well to this intire Recantation, which is about seven Times as long: Especially not as made a sort of publick Instrument, and so-

^a Pag. 666. ^b *ibid.*

lemly sign'd, with *Cranmer's* Name, and attest-
ed by two Witnesses, as is pretended. ^a Nor do
the number of these Bills or Papers written by
Cranmer, which were several by *Fox's* and *Cran-*
mer's own Testimonies; ^b and no fewer than seven-
teen by the Testimony of *Sanders*, at all agree
with this one long Instrument of Recantation,
which his Enemies printed and published in his
Name; but very well to this very short Bill or Pa-
per at the Beginning of it. Of which many Copies
might soon be written and dispersed by him:
And of which he might easily write and sign two
Copies on the Morning he was to suffer, as we
are informed he did; but not so easily of the
larger Recantation, as the Frier pretended.

(8) This large Recantation, as pretended to
be signed by *Cranmer*, and published a Month
or Five Weeks before his Death, very ill agrees
with what *Mr. Fox* relates, as happening the
very Morning of his Execution, viz. that " *Frier*
" *John*, the Witness to the former Recantation,
" brought him a Paper, with Articles; which
" *Cranmer* should openly profess in his Recanta-
" tion before the People; earnestly desiring him
" that he would write the said Instrument, with
" the Articles, with his own Hand; and sign it
" with his Name." What Occasion for all this,
if they had an attested Copy of a full Recantation
already printed and published, with his own Hand
subscribed thereto? And stranger it is what fol-
lows in *Fox*, that " He did it:" And that when
the Frier desired that he would write another
Copy thereof, which should remain with him, that
he did that also.

^a *Fox*, pag. 667. 668.

^b *Burnet*, Vol. II. Append. pag.

^c *Fox*, pag. 667.

(9) This is still more strange, when we remember, ^a that it was now a Month or five Weeks since his former Recantation was pretended to have been made and signed by him; and that in hopes of Life and Preferment, which hopes were now almost all gone; and *Cranmer* had now prepared himself to recant ^b any such Recantation at his Death, as *Mr. Fox* informs us.

(10) However, 'tis plainly incredible, that on the very Morning of his Execution, *Cranmer* should write these two Copies of his large and full Recantation, ^c and sign them with his own Hand, as the Sense of his own Mind: And yet, " At the very same Time, secretly put another Paper into his Bosom, containing his Prayer for the Stake, and his Exhortation to the People; when he designed to declare his Abhorrence of any thing like such a Recantation: " Which yet is *Mr. Fox's* Account in this place. This is too vile, and impious, and desperate, and jesuitical, to be suppos'd of any common Christian: Much less of the most open-hearted, and sincere, and upright, and religious Archbishop *Cranmer*. Whether the two Papers that *Cranmer* is said to have transcrib'd and sign'd with his Hand, the Morning of his Execution, ^d at the earnest Desire of the *Spanish* Frier, contain'd the intire Recantation still extant, and only signed as a true Copy of what was propos'd to him, but he had never consented to: Or, whether it were no more than the former Clauses of it, which he had given out as his real Belief, I cannot certainly determine: But suspect they were these small Clauses, and no other. Altho' the Frier, who is said to have

^a *Fox*, pag. 666.

^b Pag. 667.

^c *Fox*, *ibid.*

^d *Fox*, *ibid.*

procured these Copies, and perhaps some other of the *Papists* also, were very willing they should be confounded. As indeed they have been most fatally confounded to this very Day.

(11) This *Spanish* Frier, the principal Actor in this whole Tragedy, when *Cranmer*, at the Stake, declared himself, according to his Promises, to dye in the *Catholic Faith*; but in a Sense very different from what he expected; raged, and foamed, and was almost out of his wits, always having this in his Mouth, *Non fecisti? Didst thou it not?* As if *Cranmer* did not then own the making such a Recantation, as he had ascribed to him.

(12) Altho' Mr. *Fox* was made to believe that the Queen knew of this full Recantation of *Cranmer's*,^b and received it very gladly; and this before *February 24th*, 1555. when she signed the Writ for his Burning; as all that follow him have also supposed; yet does *Bishop Burnet* find it hard to believe, that such a Recantation could be made by him when the danger was so remote: And therefore he supposes it not done till after the Writ was finally sent down to *Oxford* for his Burning,^d directly contrary to Mr. *Fox*, to Dr. *Cole's* Sermon at his Burning, and to *Sander's* History. The Reason of this Difficulty is obvious: But the Foundation of the Difficulty is only this, that *Cranmer* did make that Recantation. Which I confess seems to me not a little incredible.

(13) The very Writ for Burning *Cranmer* gives no Power to burn him; ^e but as *pertinaciously holding and defending* his heretical Opinions. Which

^a *Fox*, pag. 670. ^b Pag. 667. ^c *Burnet*, Vol. II. pag. 300. 301. pag. 334.

^d *Fox*, pag. 666. 668. ^e *Burnet*, Vol. II. pag. 399.

^f *Burnet*, Vol. II. pag. 300.

seems to be authentick Evidence that the Court knew nothing of that large and full Recantation, the Frier pretended he had signed in his Presence, before the Date of that Writ for his Execution.

(14) Had this Recantation been known to be genuine at that Time, and made before the going out of the Writ for Burning *Cranmer*, by what Law did the Queen sign such a Writ? And by what Law did the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Oxford* execute it? All ecclesiastical Proceedings against Hereticks still allowing of a Recantation and doing Penance, as always sufficient for the Offenders Preservation. The constant method, even in *Queen Mary's* Time, was this, That such Hereticks must either *Turn* beforehand, or *Burn*; but no farther. Nay, so extensive was this Practice then, that tho' the pretended Hereticks had been obstinate till they came to the very Stake, yet was there frequently a Pardon ready for them at that Stake, if they would but there make a Recantation. So that this Signing, and Sending, and Executing the Writ for the Burning of *Cranmer*, is little less than a Demonstration that he had never made such a Recantation as Frier *John* pretended he had.

(15) Which Demonstration is still farther confirmed, by what ^b Bishop *Burnet* found in the Council Book it self, relating to this pretended Recantation: Where we have this most authentick Account; that, "On the 13th of *March*,
 " (almost three Weeks after the Date of the
 " Writ, for burning *Cranmer*, as an obstinate
 " Heretick,) and eight Days before he was
 " burnt, the Privy-council were concerned when

^a See *Burnet*, Vol. II. pag. 302. 303. 307. 308. 312. 314. 318. 328. 331. 333. 337. 347. 364. 365.

^b *Burnet*, Vol. III. pag. 249.

— they

“ they heard *Cranmer's* Paper of Recantation
 “ was printed. *Rydall* and *Copland*, two Prin-
 “ ters, were required to deliver to *Cawood* the
 “ Queen's Printer the Books of his Recantation,
 “ to be burned by him.” Now since “ the
 “ Doctors and Prelates, ” as Mr. *Fox* was inform-
 ed, “ caused this Recantation to be Printed : ”
 As also that, “ ^b the Queen received that Recan-
 “ tation very gladly : ” If all this had been really
 true, How comes the Queen's Privy-council to
 dislike it? Nay, to Order the remaining Copies of
 this Recantation it self to be delivered up to the
 Queen's Printer to be burnt? Had the Privy-
 council been satisfied that this Recantation was
 genuine, this Procedure seems not a little absurd
 and incredible. 'Tis much more likely that the
 Council ordered it to be burnt as a known
 Forgery; and as capable of raising a groundless
 Compassion and Indignation in the People; when
 they should believe *Cranmer* was become a
 through *Roman Catholick*, and yet was to be
 burnt as an obstinate *Protestant Heretick*.

(16) Dr. *Cole*, in his Funeral Sermon, tho' he
 supposes that *Cranmer* was become a *Catholick*,
 “ and would own himself to dye in the *Catholick*
Faith, as he had declared in the first clauses of
 this Paper; which there is little Reason to doubt
 but he did really write, and really sign; yet does
 he not pretend he had made any such full and par-
 ticular Recantation hitherto. Nay, on the con-
 trary, he then charges him with “ having been
 “ not a secret Favourer only; but also a most
 “ earnest Defender of heretical Opinions, even
 “ to the End of his Life.” Nor does the great
 and uncertain Expectation of both Protestants and

^a *Fox*, pag. 666.

^b Pag. 667.

^c Pag. 668.

^d *Ibid.*

^e Pag. 667.

Papists what Religion he would declare himself to be of at his Death, allow us to suppose he had so long ago, and that very Morning also signed such an intire Recantation.

(17) There is still extant a Letter of *Cardinal Pole's* to *Cranmer*, of which you have some Account in *Bishop Burnet*, which if it were sent to him, as some think, ^a *a very little while before his Execution*, as he informs us, is sufficient Evidence that then the *Cardinal* neither knew nor expected the least Recantation from him.

(18) We have not the least Evidence, that I know of, that any of the Protestant Confessors or Martyrs in *Queen Mary's* Reign did acknowledge that *Cranmer* ever had made such a Recantation. They still reckon him as *One*, nay usually as the *principal* of their glorious *Martyrs*, upon all Occasions. As do the Papists also still reckon him among the notorious Hereticks. Of all which we have many Instances later than his Death, ^b and still without the least intimation that he had ever made such a Recantation in any of them. Which intire Silence in both Parties is no small Evidence that it was not then believ'd he had made that real Recantation, which the *Spanish Frier* pretended.

(19) *Cranmer* himself, as *Mr. Fox* was informed, when at the Stake he sorely repented of some small ^c Bills, or Papers, or Writing which he had sent abroad, which he owns he had written with his Hand, contrary to Truth which he thought with his Heart; and wrote for Fear of Death, and to save his Life, if it might be, since his Degradation, wherein he had written many Things untrue, yet did he, at

^a Vol. III. pag. 244

^b *Fox*, pag. 720. 765. 774. 788. 799. 843. 844. 856. 8. 861.

^c *Fox*, pag. 669. 670.

the same Time, almost directly deny that he had ever made this real Recantation, charged upon him by the *Spanish Frier*. * For Mr. Fox assures us, that when at that Time his Enemies ceased not to object unto him his *Falshood* and *Disimulation*, because, after all, he dyed a zealous Protestant, he answered to that Accusation, in the Words already set down. " Ah! My masters, " quoth he, *Do not you take it so*. Always, since " I lived hitherto, I have been a Hater of " Falseness, and a Lover of Simplicity; and " never before this Time have I dissembled." Which very ill agrees with what the *Frier* pretended, that he had continued in the grossest Hypocrisy and Falseness for four or five Weeks together, ever since he made that intire Recantation.

(20) If there were not here some Knavery or Forgery in the Case, why was not the Queen's Resolution ^b to have him burnt notified to him a few Days, or however several Hours before he was to die? Why was Dr. Cole, who had been before appointed to Preach his Funeral Sermon on *March 21st*, obliged to keep the Day silent? Why did the same Dr. Cole, the very Morning *Cranmer* was to dye, still conceal it from him, when he went to see him? Nay, Why did he, upon *Cranmer's* owning he had no Money, present him then, and not till then, with Fifteen Crowns, to give to the Poor to whom he would, when he was just going to die? Why did the *Spanish Frier* attempt to get two Copies of a Recantation under *Cranmer's* Hand the very same Morning? And all this without any Intimation that he was to dye immediately? Why

* Pag. 670.

^b See Fox, pag. 668. 669. 670.

was he left destitute, without Mercy, or so much as one Friend to support or advise him, or to be a faithful Witness what was then said or done by him? And why did some of the Papists, particularly this Dr. Cole, cry out, as soon as they perceived Cranmer had declared himself a Protestant, *Stop the Hereticks Mouth, and take him away*; as this History informs us? I think we have great Reason to suspect that all this Barbarity and Hastē and Hurry for a sudden Execution was intended to conceal somewhat which was not fit to be made publick: And that it was done on Purpose that sincere and honest Cranmer's pretended Recantation, might still be believed to be real: And that the poor Man might have no Opportunity to clear his Innocence any farther in this Matter. And indeed, one would almost wonder that Mr. Fox did not himself suspect this Fraud and Forgery; since he informs us that “ the Papists secretly and slightly sub-
 “ orned certain Men, which when they could
 “ not expugn him by Arguments and Disputa-
 “ tion, should by Intreaty, and fair Promises, or
 “ any other Means allure him to Recantation.—
 “ That the wily Papists flocked about him,
 “ with Threatening, Flattering, Intreating, and
 “ Promising, and all other Means, especially
 “ Henrie Sydal, and Frier John, a Spaniard de
 “ villa Garcina, to the End to drive him to
 “ the uttermost of their Possibility from his for-
 “ mer Sentence to Recantation.”

N. B. This Recantation may well be suppos'd only a pretended one, and a Forgery of the Papists. For this was not the first Time that Cranmer was scandaliz'd in this Manner. We find that Bishop ^b Bonner himself believ'd he was become

^a Fox, pag. 666.

^b Burnet, Vol. II. pag. 248.

very humble at the beginning of Queen Mary's Reign, and ready to submit himself in all Things, without any real Foundation. We find also, about the same Time, the Report was so current that he had himself consented to set up the *Mass* at *Canterbury*, and that he had undertaken to sing *Mass* before the Queen, that he was obliged to vindicate himself in a publick Paper, still extant. Nay the main Parts of this Recantation before us may possibly be as old as these early Rumors. For *Sanders* ~~affirms~~ ^{informs} us that *Cranmer* feigned himself a *Catholic*, and signed his Retraction seventeen Times with his own Hand, before his Condemnation. Whereas in this Form he owns himself to be late Archbishop of *Canterbury* only: Which he would never have allowed till after *February* 14th, 1555-6. when he was degraded: As all the other Evidence already produced does also assure us. They who have a Mind to compare one popish Forgery with another, may look in Mr. *Fox*, and there find such another Recantation, ascribed to the famous Lord *Cobham*, in the Days of *Henry* the fifth: Only with this Difference, that the Lord *Cobham's* Recantation seems never to have been so much as seen by him: Which we cannot certainly say of this ascribed to Archbishop *Cranmer*; tho', both, I suppose, equally spurious and jesuitical Forgeries.

It is not here quite unworthy of our Remark, that *Cranmer's* peculiar Punishment of Burning his right Hand, before the rest of his Body; that right Hand which wrote the several Bills or Papers whereby he gave Occasion to the Report that he had made a real and intire Recantation; seems more accountable on the Supposition that it was

rather the many Bills or Papers he had incautiously written or transcribed with his *right Hand*; than any one or two full Recantations, to which he had wickedly consented with his Mind, which occasioned that unusual Experiment or Signal of Detestation. And if any suppose that the *Consumption*, first of his *right Hand*, and then of the rest of his Body by the Fire, while yet his *Heart*, as all agree, remained unburnt, was extraordinary, and providential; the natural Consequence of it is, that while his *right Hand* was, after a Sort, guilty, in *writing*; yet was not his *Heart*, the Emblem of his Mind, properly guilty in *consenting* to any ungodly Recantation.

Lyndon, Rutland,

Octob. 27. 1732.

Will. Whiston.



POST



POSTSCRIPT.

THIS was written by me before the Date already set down. Nor have I altered any Thing which I then wrote; but print it now exactly according to the original Copy. What I am now to add, is with relation to the Accounts of this Matter given us by Mr. *Strype*, in his Memorials of *A. B. Cranmer*, pag. 383.—389. and in the III^d. Volume of his Ecclesiastical Memorials, pag. 232.—238. which I had not seen when I wrote the foregoing Paper. Which two Memorials seem to me to afford farther Grounds for the same Suspicion. For we may thence observe,

(1) That of the five other Copies of *Cranmer's* Recantations, given us by Mr. *Strype*, ^a four of them are very short, and so very like the first Branch of the Recantation before us: And might generally be of *Cranmer's* own drawing up, and might be signed by him as like the other, not much against his own Opinion; yet very capable of a *popish* Sense also. But the last is not only very long, but very different from all the rest; and indeed very like the grossest Forgery. Yet does Mr. *Strype* assure us, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, ^b *that this was said to be written and subscribed by Cranmer's own Hand*: But that it was ever proved to be such, he saith not. Nor do I

^a Eccles. Memor.

^b Pag. 235.

easily believe *Cranmer* would ever sign such a gross, and tedious, and wild Recantation as this is.

(2) What Recantation *Cranmer* owned at the Stake, and repented of, was not the signing one or two large open Recantations; but, as we have seen already, and as an honest *Roman Catholick* there present gives the Account to be set down presently, "setting forth Writings contrary to the Truth.—Things written with his Hand contrary to the Truth.—All such Bills which he had written or signed with his own Hand contrary to the Truth, since his Degradation: Wherein he had written many Things untrue." Which small Bills excellently well agree with the five suspicious small Bills, set down by Mr. Fox and Mr. Strype, said by Mr. Fox to contain only a few Words, in a little Leaf of Paper, pag. 66. but very ill with one or two other pretended full and large and express Recantations of the Protestant Religion. And what makes this somewhat the more probable is this; that he immediately adds, at the Stake, a Retraction of the worst Thing in all those little Bills: When he says, that "as for the *Pope* he refused him, as *Christ's* Enemy, and *Anti-Christ*, with all his false Doctrine?" Whose Supremacy yet, as owned by King, Queen, and Parliament at least, if not farther, he had owned and submitted himself to in more than one of those five short Bills before mentioned. Which are all I suppose that he ever signed.

(3) The very Publishers of those four other short Bills or Recantations own, that one of them, which yet was not worded worse than the rest, nor was properly any Recantation of the Protestant Religion at all, was soon after retracted by

* Mem. of *Cranmer*, pag. 388.

himself

himself again, and recalled: Which plainly proves, that when *Cranmer* was trying by certain of these Concessions or Papers like some sort of Recantations, whether he could save his Life, without renouncing the Protestant Religion, his Conscience was so tender, that he retracted one of those small and modest Concessions, or Retracting again: And that it was almost impossible for him at the same Time to sign either of those long and horrible Recantations that his Enemies published for him.

(4) Mr. *Strype* himself, who believed that *Cranmer* did thus several Times openly recant the Protestant Religion, confesses that the Papists did print a forged Account of what *Cranmer* spake at his Execution, and compares in two Columns, “^a What he was to have spoken, and “ what the Papists gave out (in a Print falsely) he “ did speak; and what he spake indeed: As was “ by hundreds of Witnesses present notoriously “ known. ^b That they published in Print these “ Writings of the Archbishop, bearing this “ Title, All the Subscriptions and Recantations “ of *Thomas Cranmer*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, truly set forth both in Latin and English; “ agreeably to the Originals, and subscribed “ with his own Hand. *Visum & Examinatum* “ *per Reverendum Patrem & Dominum D. Edmundum Episcop. Londinensem.* And adds, that “ this profligate Bishop *Bonner*, to serve an End, “ prostituted his Faith and Credit, by testifying “ a Thing so notoriously known to be quite other- “ wise, in relation to the Archbishop’s last Speech “ before mentioned.” ^c He also adds, at the Conclusion of the first Column, that “ this grievous Lye is said to be printed at *London*, by

^a Eccl. Mem. pag. 237. 238.

^b Pag. 233.

^c Pag. 238.

"*Cawood*, the Queen's Printer: *Cum privilegio.*
 "Ann. MDLVI." And at the conclusion of the
 second Column he adds likewise, that "*Cranmer*
 "would have spoken of the Sacrament, and of
 "the Papacy: But that they bad, *Stop his Mouth*
 "and *pull him down.*" If here be not great Rea-
 son to suspect Fraud and Knavery in this whole
 Matter, I am much mistaken. See the like Trick-
 ing and Roguery about a Recantation used by
 the Papists, to that learned and excellent Person
Angelus Merula; 'till at length they were going to
 burn him in his old Age; but that he fell down
 dead at the Stake, before the Fire was kindled.
 Of which we have a full Account in *Gerard*
Brandt's History of the Reformation, in the
 Low Countries. Which is also well worth the
 Perusal of the inquisitive Reader upon this Oc-
 casion.

Not have I published this Paper, which is very
 remote from my general Course of Study and En-
 quiries, as pretending at all to *demonstrative*
Evidence; but to strong Reasons for *Suspicion*:
 And in order to set more proper Persons upon
 farther Re-searches: Being still desirous that what
 is really true and right may be known by and
 prevail with all Mankind.

Pag. 341. — 367.

London, Mar. 3.

1735-6.

WILL. WHISTON.

D

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT

MR. *Strype* having printed a remarkable Account of *Cranmer's* Death, in the Words of a certain grave Person unknown, as he styles him, but a Papist, who was an Eye and Ear Witness, and related these matters, as it seems, very justly, in a Letter from *Oxon* to his Friend, I shall here re-print it *Verbatim*. And recommend it to the Christian Reader's serious Perusal and Consideration.

“ But that I know for our great Friendship,
 “ and long continued Love, you look even
 “ of Duty, that I should signify to you of the
 “ Truth of such things as here chanceth among
 “ us: I would not at this Time have written to
 “ you the unfortunate End, and doubtful Tragedy
 “ of *F. C.* late Bishop of *Canterbury*. Because
 “ I little pleasure take in beholding such heavy
 “ Sights. And when they are once overpassed,
 “ I like not to rehearse them again; being but
 “ a renewing of my Wo, and doubling my Grief.
 “ For although his former Life, and wretched
 “ End, deserves a greater Misery (if any greater
 “ might have chanced, than chanced unto him)
 “ yet setting aside his Offences to God and his
 “ Country, and beholding the Man without his
 “ Faults, I think there was none that pitied not

" his Case, and bewailed his Fortune, and feared
 " not his own Chance, to see so noble a Prelar,
 " so grave a Counsellor, of so long-continued
 " Honour, after so many Dignities, in his old
 " Years to be deprived of his Estate, adjudged
 " to die, and in so painful a Death to end his
 " Life. I have no delight to increase it. Alas,
 " it is too much of it self, that ever so heavy
 " a Case should betide to Man, and Man to de-
 " serve it.

" But to come to the matter: On Saturday last,
 " being the 21st of *March* was his Day appoin-
 " ted to die. And because the Morning was
 " much Rainy, the Sermon appointed by Mr. Dr.
 " Cole to be made at the Stake, was made in
 " S. Mary's Church. Whither Dr. Cranmer was
 " brought by the Mayor and Aldermen, and my
 " Lord *Williams*. With whom came divers Gen-
 " tlemen of the Shire, Sir *T. A. Bridges*, Sir
 " *John Browne*, and others. Where was pre-
 " pared over against the Pulpit, an high Place
 " for him, that all the People might see him.
 " And when he had ascended it, he kneeled
 " down and prayed, weeping tenderly: Which
 " moved a great number to Tears, that had
 " conceived an assured hope of his Conversion
 " and Repentance.

" Then Mr. Cole began his Sermon. The sum
 " whereof was this. First, He declared Causes,
 " why it was expedient, that he should suffer,
 " notwithstanding his Reconciliation. The chief
 " are these, One was, for that he had been a
 " great cause of all this Alteration in this Realm
 " of *England*. And when the matter of the
 " Divorce, between King *Henry VIII.* and Queen
 " *Katharine*, was commenced in the Court of

Rome, he having nothing to do with it, set
 upon it, as Judge, which was the entry to all
 the Inconveniencies that followed. Yet in
 that he excused him, that he thought he did
 it not of Malice, but by the Perswasions and
 Advice of certain Learned Men. Another
 was, that he had been the great setter forth
 of all this Heresy received into the Church in
 this last Time; had written in it, had dispu-
 ted, had continued it, even to the last Hour:
 And that it had never been seen in this Realm,
 (but in the time of Schism) that any Man
 continuing so long, hath been pardoned: And
 that it was not to be remitted for Ensamples-
 sake. Other Causes he alledged, but these
 were the chief, why it was not thought good
 to pardon him. Other Causes beside, he said,
 moved the Queen, and the Council thereto,
 which were not meet and convenient for every
 one to understand them.

The second Part touched the Audience,
 how they should consider this thing: That
 they should hereby take example to fear God:
 And that there was no Power against the
 Lord: Having before their Eyes a Man of
 so high Degree, sometime one of the chiefest
 Prelates of the Church, an Archbishop, the
 chief of the Council, the second Peer in the
 Realm of long Time: A Man, as might be
 thought, in greatest assurance, a King of his
 side; notwithstanding all his Authority and
 Defence to be debased from an high Estate to
 a low Degree; of a Counsellor to be a Caitiff;
 and to be set in so wretched Estate, that the
 poorest Wretch would not change Conditions
 with him.

The

" The last and End appertained unto him.
 " Whom he comforted and encouraged to take
 " his Death well, by many places of Scripture.
 " And with these, and such, bidding him nothing
 " mistrust but he should incontinently receive
 " that the Thief did: To whom Christ said,
 " *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso.* And out of
 " St. Paul armed him against the Terrors of the
 " Fire, by this; *Dominus fidelis est: Non sinet*
 " *vos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis:* By the
 " Example of the three Children; to whom
 " God made the Flame seem like a pleasant Dew.
 " He added hereunto the Rejoicing of S. Andrew
 " in his Cross; the Patience of S. Laurence on
 " the Fire: Ascertaining him, that God, if he
 " called on him, and to such as die in his Faith,
 " either will abate the fury of the Flame, or give
 " him Strength to abide it. He glorified God
 " much in his Conversion; because it appeared
 " only to be his Work: Declaring what Travel
 " and Conference had been used with him to con-
 " vert him, and all prevailed not, 'till it pleased
 " God of his Mercy to reclaim him, and call him
 " Home. In discoursing of which place, he much
 " commended Cranmer, and qualified his former
 " Doing.
 " And I had almost forgotten to tell you, that
 " Mr. Cole promised him, that he should be prayed
 " for in every Church in Oxford, and should have
 " Mass and *Dirige* Sung for him; and spake to
 " all the Priests present to say Mass for his
 " Soul.
 " When he had ended his Sermon, he desired
 " all the People to pray for him: Mr. Cranmer
 " kneeling down with them, and praying for
 " himself. I think there was never such a num-
 " ber

“ ber so earnestly praying together. For they,
 “ that hated him before, now loved him for his
 “ Conversion, and hope of Continuance. They
 “ that loved him before could not sodealy hate
 “ him, having hope of his Confession again of
 “ his Fall. So Love and Hope encreased Devo-
 “ tion on every side.

“ I shall not need, for the time of Sermon, to
 “ describe his Behaviour, his Sorrowful Counte-
 “ nance, his heavy Chear, his Face bedewed
 “ with Tears; sometime lifting his Eyes to
 “ Heaven in Hope, sometime casting them down
 “ to the Earth for Shame; to be brief, an
 “ Image of Sorrow; The Dolor of his Heart
 “ bursting out at his Eyes in plenty of Tears:
 “ Retaining ever a quiet and grave Behaviour.
 “ Which increased the Pity in Mens Hearts,
 “ that they unfeignedly loved him, hoping it had
 “ been his Repentance for his Transgression
 “ and Error. I shall not need, I say, to point
 “ it out unto you; you can much better imagine
 “ it your self.

“ When Praying was done, he stood up, and
 “ having leave to speak, said, Good People,
 “ I had intended indeed to desire you to pray
 “ for me; which because Mr. Doctor hath de-
 “ sired, and you have done already, I thank
 “ you most heartily for it. And now will I
 “ pray for my self, as I could best devise for
 “ mine own comfort, and say the Prayer, word
 “ for word, as I have here written it. And
 “ he read it standing: And after kneeled down,
 “ and said the Lord's Prayer; and all the People
 “ on their Knees devoutly praying with him.
 “ His Prayer was thus:

“ O Father of Heaven ; O Son of God,
 “ Redeemer of the World ; O Holy
 “ Ghost, proceeding from them both, Three
 “ Persons and one God, have Mercy upon
 “ me most wretched Caitiff, and miserable Sin-
 “ ner. I who have offended both Heaven and
 “ Earth, and more grievously than any Tongue
 “ can express, whither then may I go, or whi-
 “ ther should I fly for succour ? To Heaven I
 “ may be ashamed to lift up mine Eyes ; and
 “ in Earth I find no refuge. What shall I then
 “ do ? Shall I despair ? God forbid. O good
 “ God, thou art Merciful, and refusest none
 “ that come unto thee for Succour. To thee
 “ therefore do I run. To thee do I humble
 “ my self : Saying, O Lord God, my Sins be
 “ great, but yet have Mercy upon me for thy
 “ great Mercy. O God the Son, thou wast not
 “ made Man, this great Mystery was not
 “ wrought, for few or small Offences. Nor
 “ thou didst not give thy Son unto Death, O
 “ God the Father, for our little and small Sins
 “ only, but for all the greatest Sins of the
 “ World : So that the Sinner return unto thee
 “ with a penitent Heart ; as I do here at this
 “ present. Wherefore have Mercy upon me,
 “ O Lord, whose Property is always to have
 “ Mercy. For although my Sins be great, yet
 “ thy Mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O
 “ Lord, for mine own Merits, but for thy
 “ Name's Sake, that it may be glorified there-
 “ by : And for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's Sake,
 “ And now therefore, Our Father, which art
 “ in Heaven, &c.

“ Then

“ Then rising, he said, Every Man desireth,
 “ good People, at the time of their Death, to
 “ give some good Exhortation, that other may
 “ remember after their Deaths, and be the bet-
 “ ter thereby. So I beseech God grant me Grace,
 “ that I may speak something at this my de-
 “ parting, whereby God may be glorified, and
 “ you edified.

“ First, It is an heavy case to see, that many
 “ Folks be so much doted upon the Love of
 “ this false World, and so careful for it, that or
 “ the Love of God, or the Love of the World to
 “ come, they seem to care very little or nothing
 “ therefore. This shall be my first Exhortation.
 “ That you set not over-much by this false
 “ glosing World, but upon God and the World
 “ to come. And learn to know what this Lesson
 “ meaneth, which S. John teacheth, *That the*
 “ *Love of this World is Hatred against God.*

“ The Second Exhortation is, That next unto
 “ God, you obey your King and Queen, wil-
 “ lingly and gladly, without murmur or grudg-
 “ ing: And not for Fear of them only, but
 “ much more for the Fear of God: Knowing,
 “ that they be God’s Ministers, appointed by
 “ God to rule and govern you. And there-
 “ fore who so resisteth them, resisteth God’s
 “ Ordinance.

“ The third Exhortation is, That you love
 “ altogether like Brethren, and Sisters. For
 “ alas! pity it is to see, what Contention and
 “ Hatred one Christian-Man hath to another:
 “ Not taking each other, as Sisters and Bro-
 “ thers; but rather as Strangers and mortal
 “ Enemies. But I pray you learn and bear
 well

“ well away this one Lesson, To do good to all
 “ Men as much as in you lieth, and to hurt
 “ no Man, no more than you would hurt your
 “ own natural and loving Brother or Sister.
 “ For this you may be sure of, that whosoever
 “ hateth any Person, and goeth about mali-
 “ ciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and
 “ without all doubt, God is not with that Man,
 “ although he think himself never so much in
 “ God’s Favour.

“ The fourth Exhortation shall be to them
 “ that have great Substance and Riches of this
 “ World, That they will well consider and
 “ weigh those Saying of the Scripture. One
 “ is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith,
 “ *It is hard for a Rich Man to enter into Heaven:*
 “ A sore saying, and yet spoke by him, that
 “ knew the Truth. The second is of St. John,
 “ whose saying is this, *He that hath the Sub-*
 “ *stance of this World, and seeth his Brother in*
 “ *Necessity, and shutteth up his Mercy from him,*
 “ *how can he say, he loveth God?* Much more
 “ might I speak of every Part; but Time suf-
 “ ficeth not. I do but put you in Remembrance
 “ of Things. Let all them that be Rich, ponder
 “ well those Sentences: For if ever they had
 “ any Occasion to shew their Charity, they have
 “ now at this present, the poor People being so
 “ many, and Victuals so dear. For though I
 “ have been long in Prison, yet I have heard
 “ of the great Penury of the Poor. Consider,
 “ that that which is given to the Poor, is given
 “ to God. Whom we have not otherwise
 “ present corporally with us, but in the Poor.

“ And now for so much as I am come to the
 “ last End of my Life, whereupon hangeth all
 “ my Life passed, and my Life to come, either

E

“ to
 “

“ to live with my Saviour Christ in Hea-
 “ ven, in Joy, or else to be in Pain ever
 “ with wicked Devils in Hell; and I see before
 “ mine Eyes presently either Heaven ready to
 “ receive me, or Hell ready to swallow me up;
 “ I shall therefore declare unto you my very
 “ Faith, how I believe, without Colour of Dis-
 “ simulation: For now is no time to dissemble,
 “ whatsoever I have written in Times past.

“ First, I believe in God the Father Almighty,
 “ Maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. and every
 “ Article of the Catholick Faith, every Word
 “ and Sentence taught by our Saviour Christ,
 “ his Apostles and Prophets, in the Old and
 “ New Testament.

“ And now I come to the great Thing that
 “ troubleth my Conscience more than any other
 “ thing that ever I said or did in my Life: And
 “ that is, the setting abroad of Writings con-
 “ trary to the Truth. Which here now I re-
 “ nounce, and refuse, as things written with my
 “ Hand, contrary to the Truth, which I thought
 “ in my Heart, and writ for fear of Death, and
 “ to save my Life, if it might be: And that is,
 “ all such Bills, which I have written or signed
 “ with mine own Hand, since my Degradation:
 “ Wherein I have written many things untrue.
 “ And forasmuch as my Hand offended in wri-
 “ ting contrary to my Heart, therefore my Hand
 “ shall first be punished. For if I may come
 “ to the Fire, it shall be first burned. And as
 “ for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's
 “ Enemy and Anti-christ, with all his false
 “ Doctrine.

“ And here being admonished of his Recan-
 “ tation, and Dissembling, he said, Alas, my
 “ Lord, I have been a Man, that all my Life
 “ loved Plainness, and never dissembled 'till
 “ now against the Truth; which I am most
 sorry

“ sorry for. He added hereunto, That for the
 “ Sacrament, he believed as he had taught in
 “ his Book against the Bishop of *Winchester*.
 “ And here he was suffered to speak no more.

“ So that his Speech contained chiefly three
 “ points, Love to God, Love to the King,
 “ and Love to the Neighbour. In the which
 “ talk he held Men very suspence, which all de-
 “ pended upon the Conclusion. Where he so
 “ far deceived all Mens Expectations, that at
 “ the hearing thereof, they were much amazed;
 “ and let him go on a while, till my Lord
 “ *Williams* bad him play the Christen Man,
 “ and remember himself. To whom he an-
 “ swered, That he so did: For now he spake
 “ Truth.

“ Then he was carried away; and a great
 “ number, that did run to see him go so wicked-
 “ ly to his Death, ran after him, exhorting him,
 “ while Time was, to remember himself. And
 “ one Friar *John*, a godly and well learned Man,
 “ all the Way travelled with him to reduce him.
 “ But it would not be. What they said in particu-
 “ lar I cannot tell, but the Effect appeared in the
 “ End. For at the Stake he professed, that he
 “ died in all such Opinions as he had taught,
 “ and oft repented him of his Recantation.

“ Coming to the Stake with a chearful Coun-
 “ tenance, and willing Mind, he put off his Gar-
 “ ments with haste, and stood upright in his
 “ Shirt: And a Batcheler of Divinity, named
 “ *Elye*, of *Brazen-nose-College*, laboured to con-
 “ vert him to his former Recantation, with the
 “ two *Spanish* Friars. But when the Friars saw
 “ his Constancy, they said in Latin one to ano-
 “ ther, *Let us go from him; We ought not to be*
 “ *nigh him: For the Devil is with him.* But the

“ Batcheler in Divinity was more earnest with
 “ him. Unto whom he answered, That as con-
 “ cerning his Recantation, he repented it right
 “ sore, because he knew it was against the Truth;
 “ with other Words more. Whereupon the Lord
 “ *Williams* cryed, Make short, Make short. Then
 “ the Bishop took certain of his Friends by the
 “ Hand. But the Batcheler of Divinity refused
 “ to take him by the Hand, and blamed all o-
 “ thers that so did, and said, He was sorry
 “ that he ever came in his Company. And
 “ yet again he required him to agree to his
 “ former Recantation. And the Bishop an-
 “ swered, (shewing his Hand) This is the Hand
 “ that wrote it, and therefore shall it suffer
 “ first Punishment.

“ Fire being now put to him, he stretched out
 “ his right Hand, and thrust it into the Flame,
 “ and held it there a good space, before the Fire
 “ came to any other Part of his Body; where
 “ his Hand was seen of every Man sensibly burn-
 “ ing, crying with a loud Voice, *This Hand hath*
 “ *offended.* As soon as the Fire got up, he was
 “ very soon Dead, never stirring or crying all
 “ the while.

“ His Patience in the Torment, his Courage
 “ in dying, if it had been taken either for the
 “ Glory of God, the Wealth of his Country, or
 “ the Testimony of Truth, as it was for a per-
 “ nicious Error, and Subversion of true Religion,
 “ I could worthily have commended the Exam-
 “ ple, and matched it with the Fame of any
 “ Father of antient Time. But seeing that not
 “ the Death, but the Cause and Quarrel thereof,
 “ commendeth the Sufferer, I cannot but much
 “ dispraise his obstinate Stubbornness and Sturdi-
 “ ness in dying, and specially in so evil a Cause.

“ Surely

" Surely his Death much grieved every Man;
 " but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his
 " Body so tormented with the Fire raging upon
 " the silly Carcass, that counted not of the Folly.
 " Other that passed not much of the Body, la-
 " mented to see him spill his Soul, wretchedly,
 " without Redemption, to be plagued for ever.
 " His Friends sorrowed for Love : His Enemies
 " for Pity : Strangers for a common kind of Hu-
 " manity, whereby we are bound one to another.
 " Thus I have enforced my self, for your sake,
 " to discourse this heavy Narration, contrary to
 " my Mind : And being more than half weary,
 " I make a short End, wishing you a quieter
 " Life, with less Honour ; and easier Death, with
 " more Praise. The 23^d of *March*.

Yours *J. A.*

F I N I S.



“ Surely his Death much grieved every Man;
“ but not more one last. Some: pided to see his
“ Body to be commended with the late rising upon
“ the holy Gospels, that counted not of the Body, la-
“ Other that palled not much of the Body, la-
“ mented to see him spill his Soul, wretchedly,
“ without Redemption, to be plagued for ever.
“ His Friends sorrowed for Love: His Enemies
“ for Fily: Strangers for a common kind of Hu-
“ manity, whereby we are bound one to another.
“ Thus I have enforced my self, for your sake,
“ to discourse this heavy Narration, contrary to
“ my Mind: And being more than half weary,
“ I make a short End, wishing you a quieter
“ Life, without Honour; and earlier Death, with
“ more Praise. The 23d of March.

Yours &c. A

F. W. I. S.

